It must be added that existing conditions often reenforced the arguments of those who sought to delay the end of extraterritoriality. In the chaotic state of much of the country, the course of even-handed justice was repeatedly disturbed by military and political interference. Foreign merchants and property interests frequently encountered serious legal difficulties. Well-informed Chinese often lamented the Government's failure to register substantial improvement in the actual operation of laws and courts. The "unequal treaties" were passing, but rather because of Chinese propaganda and of foreign reluctance to back them by arms than because of added security to foreign life and property.

Even Japan, with so much at stake, for several years was very much less unyielding than in 1915. In May, 1928, when the Nationalists moved northward through Shantung, a serious clash occurred at Tsinan between the Kuomintang armies and the troops which had been sent by Tokyo to defend Japanese subjects against possible violence (not unlikely in view of what had happened at Nanking the preceding year). The Nanking Government appealed to the League of Nations, but since it was not yet recognized by the powers the League did not accept its plea. The controversy was ultimately settled by direct negotiations between the two governments. Tokyo accepted China's guarantee of protection to Japanese life and property and in May, 1929, withdrew its troops from Shantung.

In South Manchuria, where it was more strongly intrenched, Japan at first was not unconciliatory. It permitted the Chinese to construct railway lines. Some of these, to be sure, were financed

by Japanese funds and were feeders to the (Japanese) South Manchuria Railway. Others of them, it believed, offered com-petition to Japanese roads and contravened an agreement of 1905 (not contained in any formal treaty) which Tokyo held forbade such construction. China did not have the mailed fist shaken under its nose so much as formerly.

By 1931, Manchuria seemed to have become clearly Chinese, at least in population. To be sure, Russia still had an effective voice in the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and Japan retained the South Manchuria Railway, with its railway zone and with important mines. In Dairen (Dalny) on the leased territory on the Liaotung Peninsula, Japan had developed a great